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Missouri during the years from 1795 to 1797, were made either for or by Lewis and Clark while they were in winter camp on the river Dubois. Appended are some notes concerning the journals, made by John Hay of Cahokia, who had spent considerable time in the northwestern fur trade. The data thus collected were no doubt of much assistance to Lewis and Clark on their journey as far as the Mandan villages. For the student of history the material is of equal value because of the wealth of geographical details which it contains.

DAN ELBERT CLARK

Third party movements since the civil war with special reference to Iowa.

A study in social politics. By Fred E. Haynes. (Iowa City: State historical society of Iowa, 1916. 564 p. \$2.50)

This is a valuable volume on party history in America. It deals especially with third parties since the civil war. It was begun as a study of third party history in Iowa within the last half century; but, as American politics goes, the relations of party movements in one state are too closely bound up with party association and party life in other parts of the country to permit of isolation, and Mr. Haynes wisely enlarged the scope of his study to a consideration of third parties at large.

For years students of American political history have felt the desire for more serious study of the influence of minor parties in American politics. At times that influence has been weighty and decisive on the course of political events. But because these parties have come and gone in rapid succession without any one of them having attained to power, it has been thought that their programs have been erratic, unimportant, and purely transient; consequently their history has been neglected, and the historical influence and significance of these parties have not been properly weighed and presented. Mr. Haynes has executed this task with Iowa particularly in view, and with the economic and social conditions of the middle west as the constant background or prime factor in his work.

The prohibitionists and socialists are not included in the volume, since the author considers that these parties do not rest upon the same politico-economic forces that have produced the other parties but that they have had a different order of development. It seems that these omissions are hardly justified, as both these parties come entirely within the period under discussion. The prohibition party is the longest-lived third party in American history, and has had much weight in promoting the anti-saloon movement in America; while the socialist party, one of the largest and most important third parties of recent years, has distinctly grown out of the social economic conditions to which the author gives special

attention in his discussion of other parties, like the greenbackers and the populists.

Mr. Haynes makes clear the use of third parties and their proper function in promoting political progress. The thoughtless notion of the man on the street who never looks beneath the surface or understands the significance of things, but who always seems to regard third party advocates as a set of wild and reckless agitators, a body of "cranks," "sore-heads," and "calamity-howlers" — this false conception of minor parties Mr. Haynes very thoroughly corrects. These parties are shown to represent as a rule serious, patriotic, democratic, progressive movements in American politics. They are the bold pioneers in the struggle for betterment, so that what is rejected by the multitude in one generation becomes the accepted basis of conduct for the next. So much is this shown to be so within the last half century that it is quite to the discredit of an American not to have voted at some time with one of these third parties. The larger the vote cast by a third party the greater the chances, not that the party would come into power, but that it would force one of the dominant parties to take up its principles. Such, as Mr. Haynes shows, has been the weight repeatedly exercised by these parties in the last half century, with the result that the old parties have pursued the tactics of preventing their further growth by promoting the process of fusion; this has usually led to confusion, and to the dissipation of the forces of the third party organizations.

It is also shown that these parties have aimed at national powers and broad construction. They have usually represented liberal, or radical, movements which have tended to detach men from tradition, precedent, and old theories that have come down from other conditions.

The author identifies too closely the mugwump opposition to Blaine in 1884 with the liberal republican movement of 1872, treating both movements as a part of a liberal independent movement. The head of the mugwumps was George William Curtis, while in 1872 Curtis and *Harpers weekly* were ardent supporters of Grant. True, independence of hide-bound party ties was cultivated by both movements, just as in 1896 and 1912 party ties were loosened by new situations and new leadership. But the causes and movements were not identical nor distinctly related. The mugwump is only incidentally referred to in the volume and the principles, political policies, and motives behind the liberal republican contest are not set forth in a way sufficiently categorical. It may be doubted whether the liberal republican movement had any "relation to the economic unrest of the time." A third party movement supported by Carl Schurz, George William Curtis, and the *New York Nation* (Mr. Godkin) had little relation, if any, to a third party movement supported

by Wendell Phillips, the grangers, or James B. Weaver. These two sets of men were not out for the same things, as the author might, in a measure, lead us to think.

The volume narrates a great many facts as to the meetings of conventions, the men nominated, the votes cast, the platforms presented, but the reader will not find the causes of events very fully explained; the underlying issues are not presented; the meaning and significance of events are not made clear. How the issues dividing men cut across parties rather than between them; the real merits of the money question and the conflicting interests involved in its discussion; the social cleavage brought about by industrial tendencies; the actual forces engaged in the recent years of struggle for progressive democracy; the pressure of power; the corruption of wealth; the alliance of the millionaire and the boss leading to our "invisible party government," — it is not clear that these problems, forces, and influences have received the evaluation they deserve. The author seems disposed to adopt and restate a succession of opinions drawn from the secondary sources that he has used, showing a lack of penetration and analysis that leads him to occasional inconsistencies and to general statements that do not carry much weight of meaning. The national democratic party (1896) is disposed of in a paragraph; its real significance is not explained. In accounting for the causes and conditions that produced the populists the author seems willing to accept and teach the old absurd contention of the time that industrial and social distress and discontent had been brought about by "over-production": want and hunger were abroad in the land because there was "more wheat, corn, oats, beef, and pork than the country could consume." The fact of mortgaged farms is offered as a cause of populism; the cause of mortgaged farms is not suggested. Our author does not probe to the causes back of both.

However many flaws many critics of many minds may be able to find in Mr. Haynes's volume, this review should close as it began — with the statement that the work is one of distinct merit and value. It is compact with interesting and important facts, affording a large fund of information. Its bibliography is useful to the student, and its index is complete. It opens up questions of current history that will invite and encourage further pursuit. It recognizes certain forces and influences in the promotion of liberal and enlightened politics that have not heretofore been duly appreciated, as in suggesting some estimation of the power and controlling effect on our party life and party leaders of such educational leaders and teachers as President Eliot, President Bascom, President Van Hise, Professor Ely, and others.

J. A. W.